SPEECHES AND RESOLUTIONS At the Union Meeting at the Chinese Saloon in Philadelphia on the 21st of the present month.

FROM THE "SORTH AMERICAN."

The Hon. John Sergeant was appointed Pre sident of the meeting, with a great number of the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia city and county, of all parties. Upon taking the Chair-Mr. SERGEANT said he must first express to his

fellow-citizens his deep sense of the honor they had done him in calling him to the chair of such a meeting, upon such an occasion. He would say, with sincerity, that be heartily united with them in its purposes. He verily believed they were of one mind and one heart; and he believed-nay, he was firmly convincedthat there was the same unanimity throughout the whole of

There was not, he was sure, a single individual within her borders who was a disunionist or a secessionist, or was so dissatisfied with his associates as to be willing to apply blazing torch to the common ark of our safety, and make one great conflagration of it in order to get rid of them ! No ! They were one in feeling, they were one in conviction, and, be it re membered, they would be one in the performance of whatever duty they owed their country.

He felt very painfully that thus honored he was disable by indisposition to address them as the occasion deserved. He must, however, say, or endeavor to say, a very few words, and leave the rest to those who were to come after him, who were fully competent to embody and express the thoughts and feelings which belonged to the great subject. This Union bears date the fifth day of September, 1774,

and every American should remember that to maintain it is a duty always binding upon him. He has no choice about it; he must take care that the constitution and laws are main tained and enforced, and the Union preserved. The right i as clear as that of an individual to preserve his own life.

The constitution was the work of the Union-the whole the united people of the United States made it. They declared that the constitution itself, and treaties and laws made under it, should be the supreme law of the land. They bind conclusively all States and all individuals. Provision is made for alterations of the constitution. Until alterations are made according to that compact, it is the duty of the Govern ment to maintain it, and of the whole people of the United States to aid them to do so. If there be a doubt about the constitutionality of a law, there is a tribunal under the constitution to decide it, and the decision is final. To that, also, submission is due by our own compact. And here the argument terminates. If the powers given

by the constitution be rightfully given, as they undoubtedly are, and if it be the duty of the Government to enforce and of the people to support them; if the powers given by an act of Congress be constitutional, and it be, as it certainly is, the therefore had no further duty to perform than to declare the meeting organized and ready to proceed to business.

Hon. George M. Dallas then came forward, and spoke as follows:

Fellow-Citizens: The committee of arrangem through their chairman, have handed me a series of resolutions, prepared by themselves, to be submitted to this meeting. That duty shall be performed. Before, however, these resolutions are read, you will allow me to call upon your intelligence while I make a few, and I hope a very few, prefatory remarks explanatory in some degree of their scope, their character, and their tone. I do not propose to argue or persuade. If there be any one present to whom it may be necessary to use argument or persuasion, he had better not listen to me. [Applause.] I will not to Pennsylvanians. nor to Philadelphians, use argument or persuasion, when such a meeting as this is invoked, to stand by the country in her hour of trial. [Great applause.]

But, fellow-citizens, no form of government is more difficult to construct than a federal union of sovereign republican States. All history shows the extreme difficulty of accomplishing such a task. In order to achieve it, there is necessary so much forbearance, so much sacrifice of local preindices and interests; there is necessary the exercise of so much public virtue for the general good, that all mankind have found it one of the hardest, if not an impossible task to ac-

To make such a government is a hardship, only equalled by the difficulty of maintaining it; and yet, when once made and once in operation, all reason and all experience prove let them try their pens at it, and the more they try all their ed. [Applause.] A federal union of republican States gives to commerce, trade, and agriculture almost an unbounded expansion and perfect security. Such a government gives to law of the land; and I say, in these cond place, gentlemen—and I say it with the consciousness that I am heard by those ment. Such a government is absolutely necessary for all the who are wise in the law, wise in the constitution, wise in the national purposes of power, of wealth, and of character.

principles of our popular Government—I say that that law is, in every one of its features, in every one of its arrangements, Such a government gives to the enjoyment of private rights in the humblest as well as the highest spheres of life perfect guaranties; and such a government, fellow-citizens, creates a plause.] Why, fellow-citizens, it is not only in harmony with its spirit, but let me tell you that there is no man, achonor and respect. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, such a government was formed for us. I tenance of the constitution. Why, do you suppose that they need not advert to the eminent men who adorned their country at the period of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. I need not mention their names, although their names are signals for the admiration, the veneration. the affection of all mankind. I need not recur to them. The Government was formed, and from the 30th of April. 1789, when George Washington [applause] took the oath of office as Chief Magistrate, under that Government, in the city of New York, from that hour down to the present it has accomplished all the great objects of the American people. [Applause.] It has proved itself to be a matchless instrument, framed by extraordinary wisdom. As you will recollect, fellow-citizens, it originated, was discussed, and adopted in a Convention that assembled in this city; and subsequently that form of government, thus adopted, passed through the various States then composing the Union in this country, and received the confirmation of Conventions in each and every State. So ratified by the universal voice, and so adopted in emphatic language, it has worked well and nobly. [Applause.]

gation, for trade? During the last sixty years, from the period of its adoption down to the present moment, it has run up the tonnage of the United States from the humblest to the highest figure-from 365,000 tons to 3,500,000 tons. [Ap-Plause. I it has made the aggregate of exports and imports of the United States augment from the figure in 1790 of 40,000,000 to the figure in 1850 of 295,000,000. '[Applause.] What has it done for the agriculture of the American people? Fellow-What nast tone for the agriculture of the American people? Fellow-citizens, ask the valley of the Mississippi, whose granaries of infinite and inexhaustible fertility are prepared to feed another starving world, [applause,] what has it done for the popula-tion of the American people? (and permit me to say that the character of the sugmentation and decrease of the population is one of the surest and most significant tests of the excellence of its Government)-what has it done? From the figure in 1790 of 3,900,000 people, it has risen in 1850 to 25,000,000. What has it done, fellow-citizens, for the enlargement of the It has grown from a mere oceanic border, constituted by the original thirteen States, to embrace a continent! What has it done for the arts and ciences—as they constitute objects of care and affection with all civilized people-what has it done for them? Ask, fellowcitizens, if he were here, or you could bring him here, ask State of Pennsylvania. There are reasons which will occur the shade of Fulton, and let him say whether, if he saw the progress of that which scarcely a quarter of a century ago he started, a steamboat, he would not be appalled by the result of along which the lightning express passes, enabling New Orleans and Boston to "whisper soft nonsense" in each others

the great iron track that contributes a material and important element to the great Union, interlacing all the Union, and marching backwards and forwards in every direction for the comfort, accommodation, and convenience of trade. Go further, and ask, finally, on this subject, of the progress of arts ther, and ask, finally, on this subject, of the progress of arts.

I believe, fellow-citizens, as firmly as that I am standing and s sences in this great country, the last, the e growing indicali . - that which a British author has said his countymen gations of is writing on the wall-ssk the victorious steamer-the

Further, fellow-citizens, what has this Government done tion ' You will find it in the scowling glances of every despot upon earth. [Applause.] Or, if you cannot see it there, fellow-citizens, I will tell you where you may find it; you may find it in the countless welcome throngs who have emigrated from abroad—who came as well from old Ireland as from one German fatherland. [Applause.] And you find And we have only to be true to that in order to continue to

here that solace, that freedom, that happiness, that consola tion throughout life, amidst all its changes and dis which the other continent denied. [Appleuse.]

But, fellow-citizens, this Government of ours, since the name? Go, go, if you want an answer to that question, to the grave of Pike, of Ripley, of Gaines, of Decaur, of Bainbridge, of Jackson, and of Taylor. [Great and continued cheering.] But there is one thing, fellow-citizens, about which there can be no difficulty at all upon this subject, illustrating the applies of this Government.

which there can be no difficulty at all upon this subject, illustrating the results of this Government. It has given us that which we all delight to see; that which, whether at home or abroad, speaks comfort and pride to our bosoms; it is the star-spangled banner. [Applause] Without that Government, where would that be?

And when we are summoned by the extraordinary condition of our country to assemble upon an occasion like this, it is important for us to recollect that the instant those who aim their deadly blows against the Union of these States succeed the callent banner floats no more! [Applause.] Now. aim their deadly blows against the Union of these states soc-ceed, that gallant banner floats no more! [Applause.] Now, I have attempted thus rapidly, and more by allusion, cer-tainly, than by any thing of argpment or persuasion, to char-acterize the Government of the United States as formed by the constitution that went into operation in 1789. Well, if these be the results of that Government-if such be its character—if such be its consequences—are you prepared, any one of you, to abandon and destroy it? [Cries of "no!

there were mooted a variety of questions interesting to the permanency of this great Government of ours. There was the admission of California into this Union as a State, on an equal footing with any one of the existing States, [applause;] there was the settlement of the boundary, west and north-west, of the lone star of Texas; there was the formation of Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah; there was the removal of the slave trade from the District of Coumbia; and there was the adoption of a measure commonly known as the fugitive slave bill, [applause.] Now, fello citizens, involved directly or indirectly, expressly or by impli-cation, involved in all these measures was the question as to domestic servitude in the South.

They who framed the Constitution of the United States,

which I have referred, were neither fanciful nor fanatic men. They framed a constitution for a union of sovereign republican States; they took the sovereign and republican States as they found them, with their institutions, peculiar as they might be, with their local usages, whatever they might be; for all their peculiarities, their institutions, their local usages were matters with which the great men who framed that consti-tution felt and knew that they had nothing whatever to do.

Applause.]
I say, then, fellow-citizens, that in reference to the first four measures to which I have adverted, it is scarcely necessary that I should engage or occupy your time for an instant These first four measures are irreversible—they have gone into the past. California—our young sister—California is in cannot, by any course of legislation, be driven out of it. [Applause.] The boundaries of Texas are fixed—fixed not by any one of us—not by Pennsylvania, or New York, or Virginia—not by either the North or by the South; but the boundaries of Texas are fixed and unchangeable henceforward by the consent of the National Congress and by the consent of Texas herself. [Applause.] The running of the boundary makes that an unchangeable boundary.

I do not suppose that there is a man in this whole nation,

Congress be constitutional, and it be, as it certainly is, the duty of the Government to carry law into effect, thus it is our duty to sustain the law by aiding the Government. He therefore had no further duty to perform than to declare the that have been overwhelmingly expelled. The governments of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, after much discussion and long and laborious effort of the Congress of the Uni ted States, have been adjusted upon the usual customary and wise and established principles of the constitution of the United States. They will remain unchanged. There remains, then, fellow-citizens, but one of these measures—and that the last to which I have adverted—that may become a subject of serious discussion and difficulty. I mean the fugitive slave

> That bill, in the first place, is a law of this land. [Great and prolonged cheering. No matter what character discontent may assume, wherever it be, to the North, to the South to the East, or to the West, discontent and dissatisfaction must expend themselves in words, and can not and must not be permitted to dare, by force, resistance to the execution of a law. [Great applause ] Such a course strikes at the liberties of the country, the order of the country—strikes at the very principle that is dear to a civilized American; and it is enough for him to know that if the law be in itself objectionable, if it be in itself entirely, or in any portion of its details, inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, discuss, discuss, discuss, discuss, discuss, if you like, but while

lican obedience. [Applause ]

My fellow-citizens, I omitted to say that this is a feature which characterizes even the constitution of the United States.

That glorious instrument has within itself a principle of amendment, and when you do not like it in any one of its features you have only to try and see whether you can bring about such a change in the hearts of the American people a will induce them to call a convention to modify the words of Washington, of Franklin, of Madison, of the greatest and most glorious of American statesmen and patriots. [Applause.] Let them try their hands at it, let them try their talents at it, the American people adhere to the consutution which has so nobly tried and proved itself. [Applause.]

I say, then, in the first place, this fugitive slave law is

existence, and beneath whose flowing folds every man finds honor and respect. [Applause.] cording to the language most admirably used by one lately, who understands the law and the constitution but will say that it springs directly from and is absolutely necessary to the mainthe institutions of every one of the sovereign States of this Union; who framed it in reference to local usages, local habits, and principles, as practical men, to meet the prejudices of all, for the purposes of the Union—do you suppose that even these men, powerful in their day and generation, and ten times more powerful as ten times the years elapse—do you suppose that they, even they, would have been able to adopt that con stitution; to carry it into effect; to procure the consent of thirteen States, in whose bosoms, every one of them, existed at that time the institution of slavery, if they had not introduce in that very instrument the very guarantee upon which this fugitive slave law is founded? [Applause.] They never would have dreamed of doing so, and, had they dreamt of it, they would very soon have awaked from their dream. That guarantee, fellow-citizens, is a constitutional provision, and it proclaims that wherever a fugitive from labor or service escapes into another State, he shall be delivered up on the claim of the owner. That is the language of the constitution; that is the law of the land; that is the object of the law. It goes no further, and it only renders that which the constitution enjoins, safety and justice to the fugitive himself, to his owner elsewhere, and to the public at large.

It is just to the fugitive because the instant he is pursued

and arrested, that instant, according to this law, he is under the broad and powerful protection of the laws of this nation. [Applause.] He is no longer in danger of either committing or provoking riot. He is no longer in danger of being way-laid by those who come across our borders with false and traudulent claims. He is under the protection of the constitution and laws of the United States. It is just to the owner because it is equally careful with respect to him; and it is just to the great people of the United States by forestalling and preventing every thing in the shape of difficulty and disorder. I say to you, in addition, in reference to this law, that it is an expedient law; and why do I say that ' Why, you are Americans; you know the principles of your constitution; you know your immediate rights are dependent upon having those principles faithfully executed in practice. Well, then, it is expedient with a view to satisfy all those who are interested in this great question, thus stated in the constitution of the Uni ted States, that their rights will henceforward be signally protected by the people of the United States. [Applause ]

I will not recur to the peculiar propriety that this emphatic language should be held by those who are citizens of the lutions passed here to-night, will speak to the anxious and doubting and hitherto distressed and vexed citizens of the Go further, and consult the single iron track south in tones of hope, consolation, and confidence. [Aphe lightning express passes, enabling New Orplause.] It is expedient that we should do so; it is expedient that they who live, who flourish, who are in the enjoyment of all the liberties of the constitution of the United States, within the sound of that glorious bell that is over the Ask, in addition, as to the progress of science and of art, States, within the sound of that glorious bell that is over the the great iron track that contributes a material and important Hall of Independence; it is expedient that we, here upon

in your presence, that upon the faithful adherence to the obli the constitution upon this great point depends either the Union or the peace of America. I know well the power of numbers to enforce the Union-but Heaven defend us from so borrible a result as that-Heaven defend us from for the berefit of the rights of men and the solace of tumani-ty? Where will you get your readiest answer to that ques-[Applause] Let us stand by the constitution, and the Union will last, I trust, by the superintending care of the

enjoy his favor and protection. I will now read to you the Mr. DALLAS then read the following resolutions

Mr. Dallas then read the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, which was visely framed for the purpose of establishing a "more perfect Union" and "to secure the blessings of liberty" to unborn generations, has fulfilled the objects of the patriots who assembled in Convention in the name and on behalf of the peeple of the United States, and is entitled to the veneration and support of their "posterity."

2. That in succeeding to the guardianship of Liberty and the Union, which were schieved by the blood of our fathers, we have inherited an obligation to preserve them untarnished together; and it would be equally base to forfeit the National Independence, and to fail in allegiance to the National Union.

3. That the care of the Union is a sanctified trust, and ought to be dear to every American; but those citizens are especially its guardians who, standing on the spot where independence was declared, where the constitution was framed, and where the Union was rendered perfect, are stimulated to its preservation, and find additional motives for the exercise of that pious duty in surrounding memorials of the past; and here, on the very ground upon which our heroic ancestora devoted themselves to their country, we renew to the same cause the pledges which they once gave and gloriously redeemed, of "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

4. That the constitution provides that persons "held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." For many years State legislation contributed means to carry this constitutional provision into effect. When State legislation was repealed, a duty devolved upon Congress to supply its place; and it has been discharged in conformity to fundamental law, and the enactments it has adopted are entitled to the support of the whole nation.

5. That our countrymen are a law-abiding people. They

actments it has adopted are entitled to the support of the whole nation.

5. That our countrymen are a law-abiding people. They delegate to chosen representatives in the Congress of the United States powers of legislation limited by the constitution; and they repose confidence in the acts of a majority commensurate with the character of a republican Government. When individuals array themselves against the execution of laws thus enacted, and by so doing trample upon the rights of the whole people, they are guilty of at least moral treason; and it is the solemn duty of the people to rise up in their majesty, and, by carrying out the regular proceedings of their representatives, TO VINDICATE THE SUPREMACY AND THE SOVERMINATY OF THE LAW.

6. That so much of the act of Assembly of Pennsylvania as forbids any officers of the Commonwealth from giving effect to any act of Congress respecting persons escaping from service in other States, and provides penalties for taking cognizance or jurisdiction of the case of any such fugitive, ought to be at the earliest possible moment repealed.

7. That the further agitation of the subject of slavery, which has heretofore promoted neither the yelfare of the slave nor the cause of emancipation, can be productive of nothing but evil. It has been adjusted by Congress, and with that adjustment it should be permitted, in our estimation, to rest.

8. That the permanence and stability of the Union are en-

8. That the permanence and stability of the Union are en dangered by the officious interference of fanatical and disloyal spirits in concerns that do not belong to them.

9. That the series of statutes enacted at the late session of Congress, for the sake of peace, were passed in a spirit of patriotism and judicious compromise; that they are in no respect a departure from the constitution; and that, as it is the obligation, so it ought to be the desire of every citizen of the republic manfully to sustain them.

JOSIAH RANDALL, Esq. then rose and said: In seconding the resolutions offered by my friend, Mr. DALLAS, I wish to offer a few remarks.

The question of slavery in the United States has at all imes created a conflict of feeling. So far as it depends upon the action of the Legislatures of the different States, it is now settled upon a basis which cannot be shaken. The constitational provision may be stated in a single word-non-interference; or, as it is sometimes called, non-intervention. Slavery is the subject of domestic policy. Each State, old or new, has the right to admit or exclude slavery, as the people may determine, and there is no power to prevent it Pennsylvania, or any other free State, may re-introduce slavery within its limits whenever its Legislature may elect so to do. If the thirteen old States possess the power the new States must also possess it, because, under the Federal compact, the States have equal rights. The admission or excusion of slavery rests with the people; and neither the ordinance of 1787, nor the declaration of Congress in the admission of Missouri, have any valid authority; and Territories included within the interdiction, when admitted as States, have full right to establish slavery within their limits. One thing is certain, that if they should exercise this power, there is no authority vested in Congress, or any other body, to dispute or

this country is that of fugitive slaves, and the act passed by Congress, at their last session, giving the owner facilities to ciples, constitutional, judicious, and salutary. It bears upon the face of it the impress of haste in legislation. It is ambiguous in some parts, and some minor provisions may be excannot be expected that a whole system can be struck out at a single heat. Amendments developed by the practical operation will suggest themselves, and will, of course, be adopted. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States provides that vice or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party [Applause.] As a Philadel to whom such service or labor. to whom such service or labor may be due."

It has been generally supposed that the introduction of this

clause into the constitution was a matter of compromise. If the term compromise should imply any equivalent or reluc-tance in its adoption, it is incorrectly used. A reference to the minutes of the Convention (page 306) will show that on the 29th of August, 1787, this provision was moved and seconded, and passed unanimously in the affirmative, without amendment. The wisest and best men that this country ever produced, in the days of its primitive purity, gave it their sanction. It is the product of the intellect and patriotism of Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and their illustrious compeers; and it is sanctioned by the authority of Franklin and Washington.

[Applause.] Cotemporaneously with the adoption of the constitution, the different Legislatures proposed a flood of amendments; the free States were among the foremost in the variety and minuteness of their suggestions, but not a single murmur was uttered by any State against this provision. The provision may be defended without a recurrence to the authority of these illustrious names. It exacts no more from the free States than one independent nation is bound to render to another. If a slave flees from one country and finds refuge in another, the State from which the slave has run away has a right to demand the delivery up of the fugitive, and, if refused, has the right to use force to arrest it. This doctrine is recognised by Vattel in his treatise on the Laws of Nations, (b. ii., chap. v. page 160,) and by Mr. Wheaton, in the treatise on the Elements of Liternational law, (part iv., chapter i., page 339-40.) But the principle does not depend alone upon elementary writers. It has the sanction of the highest authority. The treaty of Ghent—signed the 24th of December, 1814—provided that all territory. territory, places, and possessions should be restored without delay. It became a matter of dispute whether these terms delay. It became a matter of dispute whether these terms included a claim upon Great Britain to deliver up American slaves carried away by the British forces from the United States during the war. It was subsequently left to the arbitra-ment of the Emperor of Russia; and on the 22d of April, 1822, the Emperor decided that the United States were en titled to a just indemnification for all slaves carried away by the British during the war. The Government of Great Britain ratified this decision, and paid the money to the American

What is asked from us by the Southern States is that we should not aid and assist their slaves in running away. It is not necessary to enter into a history of the manner in which he emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies was effected in Great Britain. It was a race between the Whigs and Tories which should secure public sympathy; but if it had been to emancipate slaves living at home amongst themselves, it would have presented a very different question, and it is be-lieved it never would have passed. Still, under all their exitement, they never proposed to emancipate the slave without paying his master an equivalent. Public opinion in the mother country has done much to produce the present state of things in this country; but we must do them justice—they never encouraged the fugitives to run away, nor proposed any system by which the master should be deprived of his rights

The present fugitive bill should be honestly carried out by the judicial authority of the country, and that authority should be enforced by public opinion. This is the issue; if we do is ground fully and cheerfully, we violate the original Federal compact, and give the South just right to complain of our conduct.

The wilful harboring of a fugitive slave is a grave offence in morals as well as law, and those who commit this offence can exculpate themselves upon no other ground than the recognition of a higher authority than the constitution and laws of the Union, the benefits of which they are continually enjoying and which in all other matters they seek for their own protection. I freely admit that among the few abolitionists in our community are to be found the most exemplary men in private life; but their purity of character is of no value when

n our own State legi-lation we are not without fault. The act passed by the Legislature of Penn-ylvania on the 3d day of March, 1847, contains many features, in my opinion, odious and unconstitutional, and it ought to, and I have no doubt will, be repealed at the next session of the Legislature. [Ap-

plause.]
The passage of that act has been attributed to the decision or of the in Prigg's case, 16 Peters, 539; but they have no connex-Union. If ion. The decision in Prigg's case was made in 1842; the and blessing court in that case declared the act of Pennsylvania of 25th of March, 1826 to be unconstitutional—a decision which has never been doubted. But the court explicitly says: "State

magistrates may, if they choose, exercise that authority, (de-livering of fugitive slaves,) unless prohibited by State legis-lation."

State paper that ever issued from the mind or pen of mortal.

That was prepared in our cherished city.

There is no doubt but that heretofore the act of Congress, passed on the 12th of February, 1793, was viewed by many in the free States with jealousy and dislike; and many rules of construction and practice have been adopted which were calculated rather to defeat than carry out the law. A discrimination has been made between fugitives from justice and fugitives from service and labor that is totally unauthorized. This evil ought to be remedied; and the same salutary rules to maintain the public security in detaining a fugitive charged with a criminal offence, should be extended to the other class of facilities. of fugitives. The master who claims his slave is entitled to the same privileges that the United States or the Commonwealth possess in public prosecutions, or that a private suitor is entitled to in enforcing a civil right.

It will be perceived by all who hear me that, on the subject It will be perceived by all who hear me that, on the subject of fugitive slaves, I think the slaveholding States have a right to complain; and I am anxious to do them ample justice. The North is bound to deliver up the last fugitive slave within its limits, by the same ties of bonor and good faith that the United States are bound to pay the last dollar of the public

d.bt. [Applause.]
Many well disposed persons in the North suppose that the fugitive slave law will be abused. There is no ground for this fear. Kidnapping is in the North too offensive to be allowed. Public sympathy will err on the side of the fugitive, not against him; but kidnspping is as odious in the South as it is in the North, and those who imagine that in the South it is in the North, and those who imagine that in the South a free black man can with impunity be seized and kept as a slave, know nothing of the state of public feeling and opinion in the slaveholding States. Any law may be condemned if the argument be based on its abuse. I am authorized to say by my friend, David Paul Brown, Esq., that, during a most extensive practice of more than thirty years in protecting fu-gitive slaves, he has never known an instance of a black or ed man being delivered up contrary to the truth of the

I am not afraid of public sentiment in New England : that noble people have made too many sacrifices for the preserva-tion of the Union to besitate in fulfilling their duty to the uttermost point. It will be remembered that the South do not seek to force slavery upon the North; they only ask that t may be protected with

If the question presented were to be the restoration of slavery in Pennsylvanis, I would oppose it with all the energy I possess. [Applause.] If there has been an undue excitement in the South upon this question, it ought to be remembered that with them it is a practical question; with us it is a preculative theory. Let us must our Southern friend: a speculative theory. Let us meet our Southern friends in candor and good faith, and let us in peace, as we have do in war, prefer their fellowship to the officious interference oreign nations. [Applause.]
I cannot conclude without paying a tribute of thanks

I cannot concude without paying a tribute of thanks to those distinguished statesmen who have recently stood by the Union and the constitution in the hour of peril. They have seen its friends when it wanted friends. Amongst sumen as Clay, Webster, Cass, Foote, and their asso would be invidious to discriminate. A portion of the peo of Massachusetts have threatened to throw overboard th most distinguished citizen-a man who does more honor their State than ever the State can do honor to him. I should regret it; but whenever Massachusetts shall discard Daniel Webster, the nation is ready to receive him. [Great applause.] The same remark is applicable to the gallant Foote, of Mississippi. He is now fighting a glorious battle for his country, and if Mississippi does not know his value, and is willing to disown one of her noblest sons, he will find a refuge in the affection and esteem of the people of the United

Estes. [Applause]
Let us be true to ourselves and to our country, and all will be well. The people of the United States are attached to the Union. The President and the Admi istration concur in this sentiment. A large majority of both Houses of Congress respond to the same. The value of the Union is known and felt; it must and will be preserved! The cord which unites the States together is elastic; it may be stretched, but it will rebound and unite the glorious bunch of faggots together by a stronger bond than ever. [Great applause.]

The Hon. RICHARD RUSH being loudly called for, rose and responded as follows:

It is with some reluctance, Mr. Chairman, that I appear before you on this occasion, even for a very few minutes. It s with reluctance truly felt, and not assumed, ensuing, first, ecause I am little accustomed to address meetings of this great size, and because you have already heard those more competent to address you, and you will also hear others more empetent. But, fellow-citizens, I cannot, I will not refuse myself to your call. I came here in no official capacity. I desired to come simply as one of you, as a private citizen of the county; but I catch the holy impulse of this meeting.

I am with you, fellow-citizens, heart and hand. I am here, approving as I do of the resolutions, not to speak especially to them, as they have been already well and ably ex-plained. We are here not to convince each other of the truth, the nobleness of our holy cause, for I believe we are tions. We come to animate each other in our feelings—to kindle, it may be, some enthusiasm in our bosoms, by which, his own sphere, more resolutely, with the more energy, and with the more zeal in our great and holy cause. [Applause.] meeting in this our great city. I rejuice that we are about to add our example to others that have been set of proceedings

It is not great for its numbers alone, but it is endeared to the whole Union by the momentous events of which it has been the theatre in American history. You have heard some of them alluded to in the resolutions which have been read to-night. I never heard those resolutions until they were read here to-night; but my heart and my judgment responded to

You have heard what has been said of this city. We ar all proud of it, as the city of independence. Almost within the hearing of my voice, that illustrious collection of heroes and sages, of unsurpassed wisdom and patriotism, of great purity and of firmness unequalled in the annals of history, met, and from their deliberations issued our noble charter ependence. [Great applause.] But that charter would have been of no value, that great charter would have been worse than useless, had it not been for the constitution that

It is known to all of you who are familiar with our his tory that, from the close of the war of independence to the adoption of that constitution, we had fallen to the lowest point of national depression. Prosperity we had none. Respect from abroad we had none. Clouds, portentous clouds, hung over the future. Then assembled a band, equally renowned for wisdom, for patriotism, and for devotion to the great interests of their country; then assembled that band of patriots and of sages who formed the constitution of the United ory that, from the close of the war of independence to the tates. Yes, my fellow-citizens, here in our cherished city, here in the walks of our Independence Square, under its ancient elms, were carried on their protracted inquiries, their mportant deliberations, their able debates; and from hands issued a work, a fabric, which, considering the com-plexity of its parts and the harmony of the whole, considered as a work of government, one, single, and entire, has never before, in the annals of the world, been equalled. [Great

applause ]

If I had with me here to-night a single volume of that well-known work entitled the "Federalist," I would almost trespass upon your time to read you a few, and only a few, the applies numbers of it. I have lately, passages from some of the earlier numbers of it. I have lately, in the leisure of my retirement in the country, examined it, and I have been amazed to find how its articles would apply to the present crisis. I have been amazed to find with what beauty and force of language, the evils of the want of union were portrayed, and with what equal felicity of thought and expression the great advantages of this glorious Union were forth. [Applause.]

I will here venture to trespass upon your patience for a m ment, in mentioning a private personal anecdote. When last abroad in Europe it was my fortune to form the acquaintance of Mr. Guizot, then the prime minister of the French Government. I need not say that he is reputed in Europe as among the most able, learned, and profound of living statesmen in that hemisphere. For one, I equally believe in his purity and his victure. and his virtue. It was my lot to engage in conversation with that statesman of a great European Government upon the subject of that American work, the "Federalist." I was delighted to find that he was familiar with it all. And permit me to quote a remark he made, which fell with gratification upon my American ear. "Sir," said be, in the discussions of hose numbers, "for all that combines a prefound knowledge of the great elementary principles of human government, with the wisest maxims of practical administration, I do not know, e wisest maxims of in the whole compass of my reading, whether from ancient o modern authors, so able a work." [Applause.] Now le [Applause.] Now let me rell you what was the great and important purpose of that work. From the first chapter to the last, all the letters in it from beginning to end, are devoted to explaining the provisions, enlarging upon the advantages, and pronouncing the sober eulogy of the constitution of the United States [Great applause.]

emanating from such minds, was issued to the country and issued to the world from our own city; and certainly one, and the most important one, too, in the interesting and m mentous historical associations of our land. Shall I mention to you another which we, in our own cherished Phila-delphia, may claim? When Washington was our President, this city were matured the profound thoughts of deep wislom that characterize his Farewell Address to his countrymen; work, a State paper, which, considered in the light of parting affectionate advice to a nation, and its greatest benefactor-a State paper, which an eminent historian of the other world, not very remarkable for his attachment to our institu-

State paper that ever issued from the mind or pen of mortal. That was prepared in our cherished city.

Shall we not send forth our thanks upon this great occasion for the amezing prosperity that this Union has produced to us? If all that it has brought to our country—all that the judgment would have anticipated, all that the heart could wish—if all that should fail to rally us around our noble constitution with affectionate zeal and determined fidelity, let the views of that immortal man rally us to its support.

You all know that the most important passage of that great paper counsels us to perpetuate the maintenance of the Union; and, fellow-citizens, may this spirit be our saving

I am sensible that I am even now trespe I am sensible that I am even now trespassing upon your time and patience. I did not expect to speak, but I could not resist the call. But, my fellow-citizens, permit me to state something else within my personal recollection. I am one of these and there are recovered. those, and there are very few now remaining—there can be none indeed of that description here, unless like myself he was born in Philadelphia—who wirnessed the grand Federal procession in 1788 to celebrate the adoption of our noble and glorious constitution. Well do I remember it. It was enough to make a Union man of every body. It passed along the whole extent of our streets. It went from the extreme south along Third street, until it arrived at the extreme north. and then went to Bush Hill, then the estate of Mr. Hamilton and upon his extensive and beautiful lawn were concluded the festivities of that glorious day—if I use not too strong an expression, I should say the sublime and poetical festivities of that day.

Well, let me mention to you what, in my boyish eyes was

Well, let me mention to you what, in my boyish eyestwas the most impressive and singular object in that grand and vast procession; it was a ship, rigged as a navy vessel, with lieutenants and midshipmen on board, with the stars and stripes flying from her mast-head. Oh, fellow-citizens, how emblamatic, how prophetic were those stars and stripes, and especially of the vast extent to which the commerce of this great nation was to grow under the Union, as you have heard from the first distinguished speaker. How prophetic, how emblematic of the glory that was to be acquired for our Union! But let me mention to you what, after all, was the most important item in this ship, and which is more immediately applicable to our purpose; it was her name, the "Union." [Applause.]

Let this disobedience come from what quarter it may, it is to be condemned. If it appear in the shape of sullen and to our purpose; it was her name, the "Union." [Applause.]

The "Union" flew from her mast-head. She had no other name. That was enough to impress that great belief upon name. That was enough to impress that great belief upon my boyish heart. It has grown stronger with my manhood; it has continued in my riper years. At all times, under all circumstances, at home or abroad, in peace or in war, under all Administrations of the Federal Republic, Democratic or Whig, I go for the Union. Let us go for the Union. [Applause.] And, fellow-citizens, I close my few and imperfect remarks to you by saying what I sincerely feel—may I never live to see the destruction of this glorious Union! [Applause.]

The Hon. JOSEPH P

is, we may trust, in principle and practice, not less than in has sustained itself in that eminent and responsible station, and it can fail to do so only when the massive pillars which it serves to hold together shall crumble into ruins. It will then, in that evil and far distant day, as it was among the earliest to contribute cheerfully its undivided strength to general prosperity, fall reluctantly and the last in the universal dissolution. Yet, however firm we may feel in the consciousne of our fidelity, there are good reasons for exchanging a ratification of it at this agitated moment, and in the face of an anxious and inquiring world. Distant friends desire co-operation and support in their allegiance, which is tried by difficulties and dangers. They are exposed to temptations by which devotion to the country is made a heroic virtue. Distant enemies may not be unwilling to draw inferences from our silence unfavorable to the great cause of United America, and to rejoice in the anticipated downfall of the power and permanence of a Government of the people, occasioned, as they might be willing to believe, by our abandonment of It will at least cost nothing here, in the abode of the still looming vestiges of the Independence and the Constitution, to renew our mutual pledges to sustain, in their purity and unbroken perfection, institutions which our fathers establish-ed and defended with their lives. [Applause.]

Let us rejoice that this self creating spontaneous movement of patriotism, stirred up only by an innate love of the Union, by an attachment to the principles and establishments by which it is sustained, promises to speak with no equivocal voice, and in terms too explicit to be liable to be misunder-stood. Individual preferences and sectional prejudices bend their stern and stubborn sinews at the call. Party is content-ed to veil its face before the altar of the country. [Applause.] The country itself, represented by assemblies of enthusiastic citizens, who are willing to forget their own authority in the still higher authority which, springing from themselves, com-mends the utmost reverence, bows down to the sovereignly of

an opportunity so favorable in itself and so happily constructed, to ward off threatened difficulties and calamities, and to
ment of an ingenious man is compelled to seek refuge, no purify the political atmosphere, if it needs it, from all corruption. The bright inheritance we possess is well worth the struggle to maintain it unimpaired; the duty of protecting it as sacred as the object to be preserved is inestimable. A condition can scarcely be imagined in which a nation would be freer from evil or fuller of advantages than our own. From the moment when a perfect union was acour own. From the moment when a perfect union was accomplished, Heaven has smiled upon the bold and perhapnovel undertaking, and every thing has prospered. Evils
which had beset a disjointed yet confederated republic were
at once done away: independence was established on a platform not easily to be shaken; and the people, for whom and
by whom the constitution was framed, have continued, withut substantial interruption, to be the happiest as well as the freest under the sun. [Great Applause ] Their prosperity has been uniform; their progress in wealth, extent, popula-tion, influence, and power has been more rapid than history in its brightest pages can parallel, or fable in its wildest dreams has fancied. Their skies are not more bright than their social atmosphere has been unclouded. They have every thing at hand that gives reality to desire. Their horn of plenty i full. The future and the past rival each other in their promises and possessions, and prospective and present fruition, like the cups of the gods of the heathens, seem to sparkle with the light of hope, and to overflow with the exuberance of en-joyment. It is not extravagant to believe that as full a measure of prosperity is in their hands as is compatible with

ned exercise of popular privileges and rights. Yes, in this people's paradise, where every thing is be towed, and not a tree bearing fruit is denied to the hand of the too happy proprietors; where desire is anticipated almost before its utterance, evil and discontent have found an entrance even here. The fatal curse is among us; and the principle

"Though flowers of Eden we still inherit, The trail of the Serpent is over them all."

[Applause.] seace and good will. It professes extreme humanity, and catters discord. It sails under colors that betoken friendship and philanthropy, while it is ready to hoist the bloody flag o piracy and to fight under that crimson banner. A more clas-tic and capacious web of mischief could scarcely have been woven by the emissaries of Satan upon earth, or by the great ather of evil bimself in the confines which he is said to inhabit below. This is not characterizing it too strongly when we recollect that it carries into one section of the country elements the most psinful and pernicious that can be conceived. It is a subject that is so delicate and tender as scarcely to be ouched or looked at without pain ; and yet it is perpetually hrust, without the slightest chance of practical good, in riew. It is also one that, although an unnatural spirit of resentment for some time past has refused to recognise it with hat aspect, is not without positive and extreme danger. It was once said by a Southern man that sudden abolition without violence was like thrusting a red hot poker into a barrel of gunpowder, and supposing that it would not explode.

To us of the North what is this institution which seems

like the influence of the pole upon the needle, to fix upon itself an intensity of interest in proportion to the distance at which attention is aroused? Seventy years ago we gave it up as unnecessary or unsuited to ourselves. We did so without difficulty or dangers, and there is an end of our connexion with it. If it be a misfortune elsewhere, it is equally ungenerous and unjust to be taunting our fellow-citizens with their calamities. If it be a crime, however inherited or cast upon them, it cannot be atoned for by our vicarious peni-tence. Whatever it may be, it is no concern of ours. I can cause no imaginable resentment in our bosoms. We have no draughts made on us for our sympathies, and we suffer nothing from it ourselves to call forth our tears.

"What's Hecuba to us, or we to Hecuba, That we should weep for her ?" [Appla

That we should weep for her?" [Applause.]

This tendency to irritate and inflame exists happily to small extent among ourselves in this particular latitude. It exists more especially among our friends in the East and in the West, towards the rising and setting sun, those men whose fathers merited and received the eloquent culogium of Mr. Burke, nearly a century ago, and whose energies for peace or capacity for war has not failed or faltered to the present day. With all their wisdom they sometimes indulge a notion. Let jus hope that this is no more, and that it will pass away with the hour that gave it birth. The warm reception recently given to a foreign emissay, who came not do no more but peak our sentiments to-night—if do no more but to resolve, we shall have done but little ception recently given to a foreign emissary, who came not to preserve the Union, proves that they are not disposed to permit further intermeddling than may suit themselves.

[Applause.]

If we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we do no more but speak our sentiments to night in the speak

They are a law-abiding people, equally so at least with any in the country. Nowhere is it administered with more firmness and more strict regard to justice. Is it from that quarter, so faithful to the laws, that we are to hear threats of disregard for it—threats, as we are told, not unaccompanied by positive measures of preparation for actual resistance?

Now, the power to legislate on this peculiar subject is exclusively in Congress. Its power was exercised soon after the constitution was formed, and it invoked or authorized the agency of State officers for the purpose of more acceptably in each jurisdiction executing the law. When this agency of State officers was prohibited by the State itself, and that which yesterday was a duty became to day a crime or misdemeanor, with penalties affixed, further legislation became incumbent on the nation. Then, and not till then, nor even then immediately, Congress passed the law which has convulsed the country. Passed it not without difficulty and mutual concession and forbearance. It is the law of the land, enacted by that principle of majority without which a republican Government cannot for a moment stand; enacted undoubtedly according to the constitution, and as already judicially pronounced. Every department of the Government has given it a solemn sanction; and it is as firm as the everlasting hills, in present title, to the respect, obedience, and loyal support of every American citizen. None who deserves

loyal support of every American citizen. None who deserve the name will dare to violate it. Perhaps no law of any length was ever passed that in all its details met the exact concurrence of the whole body that passed it, or even of that portion of the body that voted for it. A law is often complex. Sometimes it gives and takes, enlarges and restrains, enacts and qualifies, mixes proviso

Whig. I go for the Union. Let us go for the Union. [Applause.] And, fellow-citizens, I close my few and imperfect remarks to you by saying what I sincerely feel—may I never live to see the destruction of this glorious Union! [Applause.]

The Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll being loudly called for, said: It might fairly be questioned, under circumstances different from those which actually surround us, whether this part of the country would require any public demonstration to prove its integrity. Our good old Commonwealth has lived in vain if it has not lived down all doubts of its loyalty to the Union. Pennsylvania in many trust in principle and practice, not less than in we may trust, in principle and practice, not less than in set of the same between the same of the same of the country if they carry out the same of the great federal arch. This State plans. Havoc and ruin would overrun the land. War, it

plans. Havoc and ruin would overrun the land. War, in its worst forms, would rage amidst hitherto peaceful fields and rend asunder the seated hills of every section, and the rich valleys now teeming with fertility and productiveness would become richer, perhaps to remain fallow, manured with the bodies of the slain. Ploughshares would be turned into swords, and pruning hooks into spears. All the pursuits of industry would be absorbed in the intestine trade of war.

What is the supposed reasons for all impairms ills. Die industry would be absorbed in the intestine trade of war.

What is the supposed panacea for all imaginary ills? Disunion and secession; or rather, it would seem, one of the
sovereign and heroic remedies presented, with the other in an
alternative form—disunion, by general consent, which will
never be given until the contagion of madness, which is yet
only a sporadic infirmity, shall become epidemic through the
land. Secession, which is self-acting relief, is a resort upon
the responsibility of those who perform it. It is avowed to be
in contemplation, and it is threatened along with force—with
whatever force may be necessary to accomplish the object.

whatever force may be necessary to accomplish the object. This opposition by force of arms to the United States, in other words, levying war against the United States, is treason.

No warrant for secession can be found in the constitution. There is no warrant for it in the ordinary frame of Government. ment. They who are dissatisfied may depart whenever they will. They may find a new country where they can; but they must not take any part of the country along with them, which they now hold in common with many more. Those who uphold this doctrine are especially defenders of the rights of minorities. What do they propose to do with these, even supposing they are a minority, who, attached to the Union, are desirous of remaining in the fold? Must they be forced

to commit treason too ! o commit treason too ?

It is difficult to understand what is the thing complained of. You may read with unwearied care essays and speeches, full of complaint, and singer, and threat, and non-intercourse, and stood. Individual preferences and sectional prejudices bend their stern and stubborn sinews at the call. Party is contentated to veil its face before the altar of the country. [Applause.] The country itself, represented by assemblies of enthusiastic citizens, who are willing to forget their own authority in the still higher authority which, springing from themselves, commands the utmost reverence, bows down to the sovereignly of the law.

All of us are prompted by no common motives to embrace but opportunity so favorable in itself and so happily construct. in a change of the constitution. To this the answer is easy.

The constitution provides a mode for amending it. Let that
method be adopted, and if it be a reasonable request, it will
be listened to; if it be not, every motive of patriotism, every

dictate of reason, every sense of propriety requires that it should be promptly and manfully abandoned. [Great cheering.]

Col. Page being called for, then rose and said: Fellow-Citizens: As one of the originators of the call under which you are assembled, I am here tonight to lend effect to the objects of this meeting, as far as my humble abilities will permit me to do so. So much has been said, and so eloquently and truly said, as to the matter under your particular cognizance to-night, that if I were toattempt to elaborate upon any one point that has been presented to you I should prove tiresome, since the novelty has gone, and the force of the remarks would in a measure be lost. will, however, claim your attention for a very few minutes. I thought, as did others who agreed with me in this matter, that there was peril impending over our national affairs. I think so still; and, so thinking, I should have lacked the feeling and the impulse of an American if I had not come to the rescue to perform a small part in the work of preserving the peace of the country. I thought that there was a platform upon which we could all assemble, and that the name of Whig, of Democrat, and Native would for the present time be laid aside, and we would stand upon it as Americans and as brothers. That platform has been presented to you in the manner I have attempted to describe, and you have warmly purposes or party objects, but for the great cause of the u and fervently responded to it. We are here not for party

of our country.

I am an American, every part and parcel of me. I am, flesh and blood, bone and sinew, American. While I talk to American citizens and fellow men, at liberty to express my sentiments, I have an utter abhorrence for a foreign country endeavoring to interfere between me and my countrymen.

[Applause.] We are competent to mind our own affairs, and
the best way to manage them is to stay at home and mind our own business. If some of us of the North were to do that, our brethren at the South would have nothing to complain of our brethren at the South would have nothing to complain of. The performance of that duty on your part is to let them alone. We have presented a platform here, which I fook upon as the platform of the country—of the Union—the platform of the constitution—of the law—of harmony, faith, and order. [Applause.] That same platform which has been given to us by the wise statesmen of the past and present day. I am willing to peril my all, sink or swim, survive or perish, [applause,] on the platform that was given to you by Washington and Jefferson, which has since been given to you by Jackson and Clay, by Webster and Foote, and other great and noble men, whose names it will not be necessary to mention noble men, whose names it will not be necessary to mention to you, for they are fresh in the memory of all. We have asked you to take the platform such as it is—great and wise men have given it to you, as the platform of the constituti

the Union, and the law.

Allow me to say to you, my friends, that it is for us of the Allow me to say to you, my friends, that it is for us of the Northern States to roll back the wild wave of fanaticism and to stem the black tide of treason. [Applause.] The South say, and they say truly, that the issues as to this Union are in the hands of the people of the North, and I am glad to see the city of Penn—the people of Pennsylvania—rally to the rescue in the manner in which you have gathered to-night. I hope that this meeting is but introductory to many more in a like way and in a like spirit, to show that there can be no mistake as to the sentimer

people of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]
Whatever may be our difference of opinion as to the meaning of the measures of Government—whatever may be our difference of party principles, let us move from hence to-night re-olved to discharge our duties to the parties to which we belong, but resolved, at the same time, that we will encourage no aspirant in any one of the parties unless we know him to be true to the constitution, the Union, and upon the slavery question; and unless we know him to be solid and sound upon the compromises of the last session of Congress. [Applaure.]

If we do no more but speak our sentiments to-night—if we